1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
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133 height. Clear rock-strewn streams abound, their banks
137 brightened by the deep green leaves and the bright red flowers of the *ratmal* (*Ixora coccinea*). Scattered masses of rock often of great size form convenient shelters for the Veddas, and assist the rapid drainage of the country, which does not become water-logged even during torrential rains. This beautiful country is rich in game. To the east, where many Veddas have drifted, the jungle is thicker, the land lies lower, and is generally less healthy. The Nuwaragala Hills to the north of the Nilgala ranges are perhaps the wildest part of the island and are more densely clothed in jungle, but there are plenty of streams, while the slope of the country permits of ready drainage.

The coastal zone north of Batticaloa inhabited by the coast Veddas is flat and sandy, and the vegetation though dense is often less tall and less abundant than in other parts of the country. Salt water marshes are common, and the country is cut into by numerous lagoons and creeks, often bounded by a fringe of mangroves which stretches some distance up the mouths of the rivers. Although this area may now, and
131 for yet a few years, be rightly called the Vedda country it must
161 not be thought that any considerable number of its inhabitants
563 are Veddas, or that they exercise any territorial or political influence; on the contrary, they constitute an insignificant fraction of the Tamil and Sinhalese inhabitants before whom they are rapidly disappearing, partly by intermarriage and absorption, partly owing to misery and a high death rate brought about by sheer inability to cope with the new state of affairs that the increased settlement of this, the wildest part of the island, has brought about.

Formerly the Vedda country is known to have embraced
131 the whole of the Uva, and much of the Central and North
175 Central Provinces, while there is no reason to suppose that their territory did not extend beyond these limits. Indeed there is no reasonable doubt that the Veddas are identical with the "Yakkas" of the Mahavansa and other native chronicles.

175 The seventh chapter of the Mahawansa relates the arrival in Ceylon, B.C. 543, of Vijaya who married Kuweni an aboriginal princess (*Yakkini*) and by her assistance destroyed a great

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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number of her people, and established the earliest Sinhalese kingdom. Later, after she had borne him a son and a daughter, Vijaya being urged by his followers to take a royal bride sent an embassy to Madura, asking for the hand of the daughter of King Pandava. The latter agreed to the alliance. Vijaya "receiving the announcement of the arrival of this royal maiden, and considering it impossible that the princess could live with him at the same time with the yakkini, he thus explained himself to Kuweni: 'A daughter of royalty is a timid being; on that account, leaving the children with me, depart from my house.' She replied: ''On thy account, having murdered yakkhas, I dread these yakkhas: now I am discarded by both parties; whither can I take myself?' 'Within my dominions (said he) to any place thou pleasest which is unconnected with yakkhas; and I will maintain thee with a thousand bali offerings.' She who had been thus interdicted (from uniting herself with the yakkhas) with clamorous lamentation, taking her children with her, in the character of an inhuman being, wandered to that very city (Lankapura) of inhuman inhabitants. She left her children outside the yakkha city. The yakkhas, on seeing her enter the city, quickly surrounded her, crying out: 'It is for the purpose of spying us that she has come back!' And when the yakkhas were greatly excited, one of them, whose anger was greatly kindled, put an end to the life of the yakkini by a blow of his hand. Her uncle, a yakkha (named Kumara), happening to proceed out of the yakkha city, seeing these children outside the town, 'Whose children are ye?' said he. Being informed 'Kuveni's' he said, 'Your mother is murdered: if ye should be seen here, they would murder you also: fly quickly.' Instantly departing thence, they repaired to the (neighbourhood of the) Sumanakuta (Adam's Peak). The elder having grown up, married his sister, and settled there. Becoming numerous by their sons and daughters, under the protection of the king, they resided in the Malaya district. This is the origin of the Pulindas (hill-men)."

Such chronicles though interesting tell us little or nothing concerning the habits and customs of those Veddas who did not adopt a Sinhalese mode of life; the same may be said

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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of the earliest foreign records such as that found in the tract *De Moribus Brachmanorum* written about 400 A.D., the author of which professes to have obtained his information from a Theban traveller.

To Robert Knox, who wrote in 1681 after a captivity in Ceylon lasting 20 years, belongs the credit of having first accurately described the Veddas. "Of these *Natives* there be two sorts *Wild* and *Tame*. I will begin with the former. For as in these Woods there are Wild *Beasts* so Wild *Men* also. The Land of *Bintan* is all covered with mighty Woods, filled with abundance of *Deer*. In this Land are many of these wild men; they call them *Vaddahs*, dwelling near no other Inhabitants. They speak the *Chingulayes* Language. They kill *Deer*, and dry the Flesh over the fire, and the people of the Countrey come and buy it of them. They never Till any ground for Corn, their Food being only Flesh. They are very expert with their Bows. They have a little ax, which they stick by their sides, to cut hony out of hollow Trees. Some few, which are near Inhabitants, have commerce with other people. They have no Towns nor Houses, only live by the waters under a Tree, with some boughs cut and laid about them, to give notice when any wild Beasts come near, which they may hear by their rustling and trampling upon them. Many of these Habitations we saw when we fled through the Woods, but God be praised the *Vaddahs* were gone.

"Some of the tamer sort of these men are in a kind of Subjection to the King. For if they be found, tho it must be with a great search in the woods, they will acknowledge his Officers, and will bring to them *Elephant-teeth*, and *Honey*, and *Wax*, and *Deer's Flesh*; but the others in lieu thereof do give them near as much, in Arrows, Cloth, etc. fearing lest they should otherwise appear no more.

"It had been reported to me by many people, that the wilder sort of them, when they want Arrows, will carry their load of Flesh in the night, and hang it up in a *Smith's* Shop, also a Leaf cut in the form they will have their Arrows made, and hang by it. Which if the *Smith* do make according to their Pattern they will requite, and bring him more Flesh:

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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but if he make them not, they will do him a mischief one time or another by shooting in the night. If the Smith make the Arrows, he leaves them in the same place, where the *Veddahs* hung the Flesh. 175 105

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"About *Hourly* the remotest of the King's Dominions there are many of them, that are pretty tame, and come and buy and sell among the people. The King once having occasion of an hasty Expedition against the *Dutch*, the Governour summoned them all in to go with him, which they did. And with their Bows and Arrows did as good service as any of the rest but afterwards when they returned home again, they removed farther in the Woods, and would be seen no more, for fear of being afterwards prest again to serve the King.

"They never cut their hair but tye it up on their Crowns in a bunch. The cloth they use, is not broad nor large, scarcely enough to cover their Buttocks. The *wilder* and *tamer* sort of them do both observe a Religion. They have a God peculiar to themselves. The *tamer* do build Temples, the wild only bring their sacrifice under Trees, and while it is offering, dance round it, both men and women.

"They have their bounds in the Woods among themselves, and one company of them is not to shoot nor gather hony or fruit beyond those bounds. Neer the borders stood a *Jack-Tree*; one *Vaddah* being gathering some fruit from this Tree, another *Vaddah* of the next division saw him, and told him he had nothing to do to gather *Jacks* from that Tree, for that belonged to them. They fell to words and from words to blows, and one of them shot the other. At which more of them met and fell to skirmishing so briskly with their Bows and Arrows, that twenty or thirty of them were left dead upon the spot.

"They are so curious of their Arrows that no smith can please them: The King once to gratifie them for a great Present they brought him, gave all of them of his best made Arrow-blades: which nevertheless would not please their humour. For they went all of them to a Rock by a River and ground them into another form. The Arrows they use are of a

1:Seligmann & Seligmann 2-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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different fashion from all other, and the *Chingulays* will not use them.

"They have a peculiar way by themselves of *preserving Flesh*. They cut a hollow Tree and put honey in it, and then fill it up with flesh, and stop it up with clay. Which lyes for a reserve to eat in time of want.

"It has usually been told me that their way of *catching Elephants* is, that when the Elephant lyes asleep they strike their ax into the sole of his foot, and so laming him he is in their power to take him. But I take this for a fable, because I know the sole of the Elephants foot is so hard, that no axe can pierce it at a blow; and he is so wakeful that they can have no opportunity to do it.

"For portions with their Daughters in marriage they give hunting Dogs. They are reported to be courteous. Some of the *Chingulays* in discontent will leave their houses and friends, and go and live among them, where they are civilly entertained. The tamer sort of them, as hath been said, will sometimes appear, and hold some kind of trade with the tame Inhabitants, but the wilder called *Ramba-Vaddahs* never show themselves."

From Knox's account it is evident that in his time or a little before this, some of the Veddas were in touch with the court and were even sufficiently amenable to discipline to be of use as an auxiliary fighting force, indeed, there is abundant evidence that long before this a part of the inhabitants of Ceylon, with enough Vedda blood in them for their contemporaries to call them Veddas, were politically organized and constituted a force whom the rulers of the island found it necessary to consider. Upon this subject we cannot do better than quote part of a letter from Mr H. Parker in which this authority states his views on this subject. "At the time when Sinhalese history begins, a part of them [Veddas] had reached a far more advanced state than the others. They were politically organised, and according to the Mahavansa had a supreme king and subordinate chiefs 80 years after Wijaya became king[1].

[1] "He established the yakkhas Kalavela in the eastern quarter of the city [Anuradhapura]; and the chief of the yakkhas, Citta, he established on the lower side of the Abhaya tank. He (the king), who knew how to accord his protection with

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
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"The invaders, or rather settlers, from the valley of the Ganges intermarried with these more advanced natives, and became the Sinhalese of the present day (with a later mixture of Tamil or Indian blood).

"The wilder natives continued to lead the life of their primitive ancestors, and only to a very limited extent intermarried with the Sinhalese.

"Three or four centuries ago the Vaeddas were spread over the Matale district and the North-western Province, and I believe Sabaragamuwa[1]."

discrimination, established the slave born of the yakkha tribe, who had formerly rendered him great service, at the southern gate of the city. He established within the garden of the royal palace the mare-faced yakkhini, and provided annually demon offerings to them as well as to others.

"In the days of public festivity, this monarch, seated on a throne of equal eminence with the yakkha chief Citta, caused joyous spectacles, representing the actions of the devas as well as of mortals to be exhibited.....

"This monarch befriending the interests of the yakkhas, with the co-operation of Kalavela and Citta, who had the power (though yakkhas) of rendering themselves invisible (to the human world), conjointly with them, enjoyed his prosperity." *Mahawansa*, Chapter X, p. 44 (Tournour's translation). Further, the same king "provided...a temple [or "tala tree," the readings differ] for the Vyadha-deva" which Mr Parker states must refer to the Vedda God.

[1] Additional evidence for this is given by Nevill who says—"I have unpublished MSS. which represent the Vaeddas as found in the forests north of Putlam at the time of Bhawaneka Bahu Raja of Kotta (about 1466 A.D.), and another which represents Vaeddas as the chief inhabitants of the Matale district in the region of Raja Sinha, about 1633 A.D." (*Taprobanian*, Vol. II, April 1883, p. 30). With regard to Veddas in Sabaragamuwa, Bailey notes that—"Though traces of their former existence there are evident and numerous, there is every reason to believe that many centuries have passed since they were there. Fields, villages and families yet retain the name Veddahs, as Weddeya pangoo, Wedde coombore, Wedde watte, Wedde ella, Wedde gala, Weddege etc.....Indeed, Saffragam, or Habara gamowa, means the district of Veddahs, or barbarous people: and in this form of the word, the former existence of Veddahs again can be traced, as Habara goddege, Habara kadowa, etc. It is traditional throughout Saffragam, that once Veddahs predominated over Sinhalese in that district, and that, as the latter gained ground, the former withdrew towards Bintenne and Wellassa.....Mr Macready, of the Civil Service, has given me very important proof of the existence of Veddahs 'near the Semanta mountains' [Adam's Peak]. He has given me the translation of some stanzas from a Sinhalese poem, written about 400 years ago, called the Pirawi Sandese, or the dove's message. The poem treats of a message sent, by means of a dove, from Cotta (near Colombo) to Vishnu at Dondera, at the extreme south of the island. The dove takes its course exactly over the district lying below Adam's Peak. The poet addresses the dove, and tells her she will see 'the daughters of the Veddahs' clothed in Riti bark, their hair adorned with peacock's plumes. So wild are they that the poet describes the herds of deer as being startled at the sight of them." ("Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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175 "A 16th century MS.—the *Wanni Kaḍa-in Pota*—records the appointment of a Vaedda chief as Bandara Mudiyanse (a title applied only to high caste chiefs); at the king's orders (Bhuvanaika Bahu of Kotta) he fixed the boundaries of four districts or "Pattus" of the North-western Province. His name was Panikki Vaedda[1], he caught elephants and took some to the king, with another Vaedda chief, a Registrar or Secretary, called Liyana Vaedda. I have an early 17th century MS. which gives an account of part of a civil war in the Matale District, carried on by his nephew against the king who imprisoned Knox. Among the insurgent leaders were first, three Sinhalese chiefs of Matale, and after them are enumerated a number of Vaedda chiefs (including one woman) who are all expressly said to be Vaeddas; of the 'Vaedda wasagama'; one of them was the chief of Bibile[2]."

172 Ceylon," *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* 1863, Vol. II, p. 313.) Within the last few months the matter has been rendered almost certain by the discovery by the late James Parsons to the N.E. of Ratnapura of quartz implements of the type figured in Plate VIII.

[1] The mention of the existence of a chief called Panikki Vedda is especially interesting since Panikkia Yaka reputed to be the spirit (*yaka*) of a long dead Vedda chief, who was especially skilled in hunting buffalo and elephant, is honoured among the Henebedda Veddas. This record shows that the memory of this "Vedda" chief has been maintained among the local peasant Sinhalese, who themselves are partly of Vedda descent, until it recently passed to the Henebedda Veddas. (Cf. Religion, Chapter VI.)

[2] The present day Sinhalese of the Vedirata say that such Vedda chiefs as those here recorded were called *wanniya* and repaired annually to Kandy with offerings of honey, wax, and venison for the king, who might also invite their presence on special occasions when they would attend, each *wanniya* bringing with him a ceremonial fanlike ornament (still used by the Sinhalese chiefs) called *awuḍata* (literally "fan"), with an ornament made of wood or ivory on the top called *horuppiwa*, or *kota*. Mr Bibile told us the following story of what happened on one occasion when the *wanniya* stayed near Kandy with one Galebandar who seems to have been a Vedda. The king instructed Galebandar to remove the *kota* from his guests' *awuḍata* without their knowledge. On the day of the audience these *kota* were missing, and as there was no time to get others the Vedda chiefs had to go before the king without them. The king questioned them: "Where are your *kota*? Lost!" and the king said "Henceforth only I will have the right to *kota* and you Vedda chiefs have no right to them." And the king called the Vedda chiefs *bandar*, each *wanniya* being given a name, e.g. Mahabandar, Hantanebandar, Talabandar, Kirtibandar, Rangotibandar, Rattebandar, Pebandar, Motubandar, Kapurubandar, and so forth, and henceforth the Veddas must needs go to Kandy yearly taking tribute to the king. And their people took their chiefs' names as community names, e.g. Danigula and Henebedda are Mahabandar. It did not appear that *bandar* names of this sort were generally known to the Veddas, and we confess that we at present attach no importance to the story we

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Veddas are also mentioned in an old family record translated by Nevill which he terms the *Nadu Kadu Chronicle* and which he considers cannot be later than the sixteenth century[1].

The following references to Veddas are taken from the chronicle, for, though they obviously refer to settled and civilised Veddas who may have had little Vedda blood in their veins, they are interesting as showing the social and political influence exerted by these.

The first passage concerns two Pattani soldiers engaged by the Sinhalese chief as guards.

"Then he took them with him, thinking they will be good to guard against the troubles caused by the Vedas. He kept them as a guard against the Vedas of Pala Vekama."

The next reference runs: "The chief of all the Vedas was Karadiyan. What was their service? It was to erect temporary

have cited, which is only given here because we feel that it is possible that in the hands of competent historians it may prove to be of some use.

[1] "Report reached me that a valuable record existed, kept in hereditary and exclusive possession by an old family in the district of Nadu Kadu. Nadu Kadu is the modern Tamil name of the Na-deniya, or Naga-divayinna, of the Eastern Province of Ceylon, and is situated to the south of Batticaloa. It was, in early times, an independent or feudatory principality, sometimes one, sometimes the other; and it was here Sada Tisa, brother of Dutugemunu, ruled.....The record evidently refers to a time when this district was depopulated of its former Sinhalese land-owners, and all cultivation of rice had been abandoned. It tells us how a band of Sinhalese took up these lands, and redeemed them, preserving friendly relations with the Vaeddas, Malabars, and Mukkuvars, who held the forests and coast.

"The record is said to have been in Sinhalese, but was translated into Tamil by the ancestors of the family from whom I procured it, the hereditary managers of the Thiru Kowil temple. They said that during the guerilla warfare between the English and the Vaani Chiefs and Dissavas of Uva and Velassie, the Sinhalese villagers of the district migrated (? were deported) to the Kandian hills and their place was filled up by emigrants from Jaffna, Tamil Vellalans. Hence the Sinhalese record became useless, and was translated. It bears on its face the proof of this translation, in many odd changes and expressions.

"The settlers were a family of Sinhalese nobles of high rank, whose ladies held the hereditary dignity of foster-mother to the royal princes.....

"They were banished to Erukamam, then a deserted site, but anciently the capital of Sada Tisa. We have incidentally an interesting glimpse at the household of a feudal noble, of this period, about the thirteenth century,.....

"The work of cutting down the trees that had overgrown the rice-lands was done by the Vaeddahs, doubtless for a share of the crop, and the powerful Wanni Rajas were gratified with separate tracts, reclaimed for their exclusive benefit, just as among their Kandian hills, the settlers had been accustomed to sow the mutettu lands, the crop of which went to the feudal chief." *Taprobanian*, Vol. II, p. 197.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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175 buildings and screens; and they were allowed if they erected a dam for Sevuka field at Sunga Ford, and took charge of the land, stacking the crop, to thresh and take each the grain of one sheath. Over every one the Vedas were the chief men."

Again it says: "The Veda Puliyan was the chief of the Seven Wanams of Akkara Pattu. On the way to Akkara Pattu is Puliyan Tivu, he remaining there, used to send to the Muthaliyar and his family, wax, honey and other things...."

"Because he supplied pingos (i.e. presents) for the Seven Wanam, Rajapaksa Muthaliyar gave Kandi in marriage to the Veda Puliyan and he lived at Puliyan Tivu."

The next reference is by no means clear, but it shows how intermarriage between Veddas and Sinhalese might come about. The last few lines of this passage are especially difficult to understand; they seem to show that the Vedda grandfather of the girl given to the washer had recognised rights in his grandchildren, and that he was of enough importance to be propitiated with gifts of cloth.

"Besides this, Nilame Rala and his wife and people, going to Sitawakka, returned by the Bintenne road to Nadu Kadu. Whilst so coming, a Veda woman brought forth a child on the path at Sellapattu, and without cleansing it or securing the umbilical cord, left it on the path. They seeing that child, brought it up. The Veda woman returning for the child could not see it, but found the tracks of many people on the path, and went away thinking they had taken it. They brought up the child with the name of Para Natchi (Mistress Road). She was given in marriage to one Muttuvan and had 16 daughters. Of these fifteen were given in marriage, and the youngest was unmarried. Then the washer who came with them, having lost his wife, was single...they gave him in marriage the youngest daughter of the Veda woman. Children were born to these. The Sellapattu Veda hearing of this, year by year began to sell the children. That custom exists among the Paravar also, and among the Sandar. As he did so, saying they must make gifts to that Veda, buying ten cubits of broad-cloth, tearing it into pieces of four cubits, they gave it to the Veda[1]."

[1] *The Tejrolaxiam*, Vol. II, p. 140.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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It is clear that in the condition of affairs here recorded there must for many centuries have been a zone of contact between Veddas and Sinhalese, and that contact metamorphosis must have occurred in both peoples. There is abundant evidence of this, and we should not insist further on this point if it were not necessary to combat a view which, if not clearly expressed, nevertheless seems to dominate much that has been written on the Veddas. We refer to the belief that although the Veddas have been much influenced by the Sinhalese, the latter owe little or nothing to the Veddas. The former proposition finds its fullest exposition in the statement so often made to us in Ceylon that "there are no real Veddas left"; but with the exception of Nevill, we cannot find that anyone who has written on Ceylon has held that the Veddas have strongly influenced the Sinhalese[1]. That this influence was, however, of importance is shown by the fact that the families of the present aristocracy of the Vedda country are proud of their Vedda descent, which is equally acknowledged by themselves and the less wild Veddas. Thus Mr W. R. Bibile Ratemahatmaya pointed out to me that long ago his people were Veddas, and that even after certain of his ancestors had settled down and had intermarried so as to be classed as Sinhalese, there were subsequent infusions of Vedda blood into the family. It was clear that this relationship to the Veddas was the reason for the prestige he undoubtedly enjoyed among the Danigala and the Henebedda Veddas. For the same reason one of his relatives was allowed to pasture his cattle on Henebedda

[1] Since the above was written we have learnt from Mr Parker that he regards the Kandyan Sinhalese as essentially Veddas with an infusion of foreign blood, and this view is stated in *Ancient Ceylon* (cf. especially p. 30).

It appears to us that the considerable physical differences which undoubtedly exist between the Veddas and Kandyan Sinhalese do not support this belief in anything like its extreme form, though it is but reasonable to suppose that there is Vedda blood in the inhabitants of the Kandyan districts. We do not think this is the case to any very large extent for, although constantly on the look out for Sinhalese who resembled Veddas, we did not see any except in the present Vedirata, and even there we did not see many. Further, the measurements of the Sarasins show that there is a difference of 61 mm. or nearly 2½ inches in the stature of Veddas and Kandyan Sinhalese. The actual figures which are taken from the tables at the end of the Sarasins' volume are as follows, the average of 24 Vedda men was 1·553 m. and the average of 10 Kandyans was 1·614 m.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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175 territory in the neighbourhood of Pattiavelagalge cave described
177 in Chapter v. This was about 100 years ago, and may have been connected with the troubles of the revolution which undoubtedly led to an influx of Sinhalese into the wilds of the Vedda country.

Further, the eschatological beliefs of the Kandyan Sinhalese furnish abundant evidence that these have been influenced by the Veddas, and certain of these beliefs can be explained on no other hypothesis, unless it be asserted that the beliefs of the Veddas and those of the invading Sinhalese were from the first nearly identical. We refer particularly to the *bandara* beliefs described on pp. 141 to 145, which have probably attained to the position they now hold because, as pointed out to us by Mr Parker, it is in accordance with Sinhalese Buddhist teaching that the spirits of the deceased may become *yaku*. This of course might merely imply that Sinhalese Buddhism had originally been influenced by the Vedda Cult of the Dead, but that this is not the explanation is shown by the fact—for information concerning which we are indebted to Mr Parker—that the Low-Country Sinhalese have nothing of the Kandyan "hero and ancestor worship" as it is styled by this authority[1].

114 Sir James Emerson Tennant devoted a chapter of his monumental work to the Veddas, but interesting as this chapter is it contains "little else than a comparison of the habits of the people of the island, as observed by the ancient voyagers in the fourth and fifth centuries, with the traditional...customs of the Veddahs as reported by Knox. The accomplished author throws no new light on the wild tribes of the Veddahs as they are. On the contrary, his account of them is in some important particulars defective, and even inaccurate. He glances casually at those tribes which are in the wildest state, touching with precision none of their peculiarities, and dwells in detail upon those only, which, from long association with the Sinhalese and Tamil races, have lost much of their originality. Of the ancient aborigines he has compiled much that is curious. Of the existing Veddahs he has given us little besides an epitome of former notices."

[1] We again quote from one of Mr Parker's letters.

4:Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
AX5 Vedda AX5

Before passing to a brief detailed investigation of the influences roughly classified as above, it may not be out of place to examine the historical records that apply to the area at the moment under consideration. Thus, we find Arugam Bay corresponds to Mardi, or Morduli Portus, in the time of Ptolemy. Okanda Bay is the same as Bocana—as the sound nearly implies; Kumuna, according to the Sanskrit, is the same as Gonagramuka; while the Kumbukkan river appears in Ptolemy's time to have been called Baracus fluvius.

From this it may be inferred that at least two bays on our eastern coast, south of Batticaloa, were known to the Romans, in addition to the perennial Kumbukkan-aar, and it may be deduced with probable certainty that these bays were ports of call, while the Kumbukkan river was more than likely to have been well known as being the one spot on the east coast where fresh water could always be obtained in both monsoons, for trading boats of light draught.

From this circumstance alone it is probable that the traders of the Roman period had dealings at Kumuna, while Okanda and Arugam Bays both offered a safe anchorage to the traders' vessels.

The whole of the Panawa Pattu from a point south of Komari was included in the region called in Sanskrit times Lambakarna, which, according to Pliny and Ptolemy's map, covered Bocani, of which Bocana (= Okanda) was the port.

Passing to more modern maps, we find about 1681 Knox gives Pottin for Pottuvil; Coemena for Kumuna; and Konokan-aar for the Kumbukkan, showing that these places had, up to that time, sufficient importance to find their recognition in maps of the day. Knox, moreover, distinctly shows Pannoa or Panova Regnum, implying that that part of the country was under a sovereign at that time, insignificant though he may have been.

This evidence, however, which might be elaborated but for pressure on the space of this Paper, points to the definite conclusion that for a considerable period a large extent of our eastern coast was well known, even to the traders of the western world, and we must anticipate, therefore, that in the course of that trade there would be an exchange of

4: Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
AX5 Vedda AX5

175 commodities which would produce both directly and indirectly its effect upon local plant life, either by the introduction of species of economic value, or by the direct export of woods found at hand.

137 In support of this it is noticeable that to the north-west of Pottuvil, Palu (*Mimusops luxandra*) and Satinwood (*Chloroxylon swietenia*) are comparatively abundant, as contrasted with the scarcity of the same species on the banks of the Kumbukkan river. Again, while Mi (*Bassia longifolia*) is abundant on the Kumbukkan, it may be called rare west of Pottuvil. As this last-named is an introduction of great value, it was spared where it existed near towns, but was neglected in those localities where the population had no permanent settlement, as we find is the case with the majority of the Maha Wodirata "villages" of the present day, and it is only in some places of old establishment that we find the Mi tree now.

361 The present population is very much scattered, its distribution being undoubtedly governed by the presence or absence of water; hence it will be found that the so-called villages are at considerable distances apart, and only where a supply of water can be got, however small or impure, all the year round. On the other hand, one finds the example of an unpopulated area bounded by a perennial stream, as in the case of the valley of the Kumbukkan river for the last thirty miles of its course. Here, however, we have the instance of a stream that rises to an enormous flood that inundates the country to a depth of many feet on both its banks, thus drowning out, in the wet season, any annual cultivation, and leaving the place parched and dry during the periods of drought—two factors sufficient to keep back a people unprepared to establish strong measures to secure permanent occupation.

Nor is this all. The Kumbukkan river, after it passes the foot of the isolated mass of the Monaragala hills, enters a country that afforded the Veddas their best hunting ground, and the Veddas appear in their early history to have been a race of people who depended almost entirely on the chase, using for their dwellings the rudest shelters of caves and temporary branch huts. They had no inducement to build